

TRACTS FOR THE TIMES. No. 1.

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# IMPERIAL DEMOCRACY

AND

## UNITED EMPIRE :

AN "AFTER-THE-WAR" PROGRAMME.

BY

J. B. HALCROW,  
F.R.G.S.


1917.

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PRICE ONE PENNY.

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THE consensus of public opinion recognises the fact that "nothing will be the same after the War." The great purifying trial through which practically the whole civilized world is now going, should tend to make things better, although it will probably take some little time for the many small differences which are sure to arise to settle into one harmonious whole. Class Legislation must be scrapped and the clear thinking and patriotic brain of all elements of the social fabric must play a more effective part in the sphere of Government.

The Party System is not dead, but only suspended, and while it is in existence there must be a super-Party having sufficient hold on the voting power of the Country to keep either of the professional antagonists to the strict lines of the Constitution, and protect the interests of all, from the attacks of the Oligarchs and Bureaucrats who have hitherto treated the Members of the House of Commons like sheep.

Obviously nothing can be done without organisation. Combination can only be met by combination. Individual effort can achieve nothing against the forces arrayed on the side of the old abuses. Organisation implies a common programme, of which those who hold the views embodied in it are not only prepared, but anxious to spend time and energy. The first step must therefore be to formulate a programme, which will appeal to all who have the well-being of the Empire at heart, and which will be worth the work and sacrifices necessary to attain it.

General, JAN 26 '20  
Secret  
5  
4 AP 21 N MC

The first object of the nation is, of course, to bring the War to a satisfactory and victorious close, and I offer no apology in asking the present Members of Parliament, and those who may enter it by bye-elections before the next General Election, to assist loyally to this end, and avoid any matters of a controversial character.

I would suggest the following principal purposes, and invite all those who approve them to join with me in a combined effort to effect their accomplishment :

1. Imperial Democracy.
2. King and United Empire.
3. Reduction of Bureaucracy.
4. A Representative Government of men devoting themselves to the service of their Country without regard to profit or material advantage to themselves, and the filing at Somerset House yearly of a list of subscriptions to Party Funds, open to examination by the public. Also a list of investments made of such funds, likewise open to the public.
5. The establishment of a Central Imperial Parliament, including elected members from the self-Governing Dominions, to deal with all matters of Imperial interest, and to encourage men of weight from the Dominions to contest seats in the British House of Commons.
6. The early adoption of a scale of Tariffs :—
  - (1) Between the Dominions and Great Britain—of a most preferential kind.
  - (2) Between England and her Allies—who are now fighting side by side—of a moderate character.

(3) Between Neutrals—a little heavier.

(4) With our present enemies—of a prohibitive character.

The prevention of the penetration of this Country and its Dominions by German trade methods, and hidden German influences, is essential in the future. These Tariffs should be thought out by a Committee of representative commercial and agricultural men and not by politicians pure and simple.

State aid in the transport of home-grown produce and encouragement of agricultural interests.

7. The immediate cancellation of all letters of naturalization issued after the outbreak of War to enemy aliens, unless very strong reasons are found for their continuance. Such reasons to be fully advertised in the "London Gazette."
8. A remodelling of the Elective Power of the Country by the adoption of the Proportional Representation Method with transferable votes, unless a better scheme can be thought out. This would give proper representation to minorities, which by the present Party System is not done.
9. "Toujours prêt," Always Ready, so that the mighty resources of the British Empire, with I hope, the cordial support of the Great Republic across the Atlantic, may be so organised as to make the horrors of War, which we have now witnessed during the last three years, waged against us by semi-barbarous Powers with a brutality and shamelessness of which the world's history has no similar record, impossible. That the weaker nations may be permitted to live, without fear of robbery or violence, and that all men may enjoy that freedom to pursue the fruits of their industry, either in commerce or in art, which is the natural craving of civilized peoples throughout the world.



## REMARKS.

### IMPERIAL DEMOCRACY.

Government of the people by the people, centering round the British Kingship, not as a personal monarchy, but on the principle that it represents an Imperial Intelligence, the Key-Stone of the Arch of Federated Democracy, vested with the chief prerogative which the King by the advice of his Privy Council wields, viz.: the power to dismiss Parliament when it no longer represents the feelings of the Country, and attempts to pass measures apparently adverse to its interests, without consulting it. A bold attempt was made by the late Party Government to avoid going to the Country, by advising the King to create a sufficient number of Peers to permit of their Bills being carried through the House of Lords—at once a confession of weakness; had they been sure of the Electorate supporting them, they would never have adopted that trick.

### KING AND UNITED EMPIRE

Are the watchwords of the Royal Colonial Institute. My programme has been largely inspired by opinions expressed by members of this Institution, and I am sure my views are shared by many.

### REDUCTION OF BUREAUCRACY.

Bureaucracy is the greatest evil of Party Government, and presents to the nation an ever-growing multitude of office-holders whose principal object is to retain their more or less liberal emoluments; those in the House cease to be representatives of the Constituencies that sent them to Parliament. The Ordinary Members of the House of Commons have no opinions of their own, or if they have, they dare not express them. Their duty is confined to marching into the lobby of their Party, on divisions, according to instructions, and instead of representing the wishes and feelings of the people, become the tools of the Party to which they give slavish adherence. The "Unseen Hand"—another name for self-interest, and German interests—has a hold on these Bureaucrats, and the helpless condition of this Country at the time when Germany let loose



her bloodhounds of War on peaceful Europe, after forty years' preparation, must have been known to the late Government, who, according to Mr. Churchill, were told by Sir Eyre Crowe in 1907 of the danger with which German policy threatened this Country. Moreover, Lord Haldane, after his journey to Germany, must have told the Government what he could not have failed to have seen. Why, then, were no measures taken for our protection?

### THE POWER OF THE PEOPLE TO VOTE SUPPLIES.

It has been the privilege of the Commons to vote Supplies for 500 years, and the expression "Gentlemen of the House of Commons, the estimates of the year will be laid before you," or "I thank you for the provision you have made," etc., etc., have always been features of the Speech by or from the Throne on the opening of Parliament, admitting the right of the people by their representatives to vote the necessary supplies. This right was ignored in 1909-10-11, and again in 1912, when, before the consent of the House had been obtained, Taxes were collected or deducted from dividends. Mr. Gibson Bowles protested, and applied for an injunction to restrain the Bank of England from deducting Income Tax so improperly deducted from dividends then due to him. He succeeded in his action, but the then Government passed the improper "Provisional Collection of Taxes Bill," which enabled the autocracy of Bureaucrats to levy Taxes on their own authority, thus removing the fundamental principle of Representative Government.

### IMPERIAL GOVERNMENT.

The establishment of a Central Imperial Parliament is a necessity. The Dominions rushed at once to the assistance of the Mother Country as soon as War broke out. Had it not been for their loyal and spontaneous help, the position of the British Armies in the Field to-day would, I fear, have been very different. The Dominions had no voice in the making of the War, but they have more than earned the right to have a voice in the Peace Conference, which sooner or later will take place, and never again must they be debarred the opportunity

of lending their Counsel to Imperial Affairs, of which they form so important a part. The proposed yearly meeting with representatives of the Dominions is a move in the right direction, but this should be transformed into an Imperial Chamber of a permanent character.

#### TARIFF REFORM.

The need for a measure of Tariff Reform is self-evident, and the various methods to be adopted will receive, I am sure, the careful attention of any Representative Government. (Page 4, par. 6, contain suggested methods.)

#### ALWAYS READY.

“Toujours prêt,” Always Ready, must be the future watch-words of the British Empire, which is sufficiently strong to prevent any recurrence of the horrors which we have been powerless so far to stop. The stories of butchery, rape and violence are still fresh in our memories, and in this connection I would point out that at the Peace Conference at which our American Allies are certainly earning the right to be present, the axioms laid down by President Wilson that America has no quarrel with the German people should be reconsidered. We **have** a very special quarrel with the German people. Germany is one vast army, which has outraged every convention and all the decencies, in France, Belgium, Servia, Poland and Roumania. The German people has maltreated all within its power, civilian, soldier and prisoners alike, whether in the guise of officer, private, professor, or Red Cross nurse, and we cannot treat the German people as other than enemies and outcasts of civilization until they have purged themselves of the spirit which has so far dominated them.

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